



BRAVE ENOUGH TO BUILD BRIDGES THROUGH DIALOGUE: The Case Chief Zibuse Mlaba

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Background

What kind of a man is prepared to make himself unpopular with those he leads because of what he believes? What kind of a man crosses the line between friend and foe because of what he believes? What kind of a man risks his life to do what he knows is right, even if it isn't popular?

Zibuse Mlaba is a sixth generation South African of the Ximba people currently found in the province of KwaZulu/Natal (KZN). While South Africa's nine provinces are a varied mix of tribes, KZN is primarily Zulu. The Ximba are descendants of the Basotho, who found their way into Zululand during the turbulent times of Kings Shaka and Dingaan, and were further dispersed by British colonists occupying the fertile, commercially viable farming areas of the region. Many Ximba settled near Hammersdale in a village called KwaXimba. Today the Ximba speak Sotho and Zulu equally.

KZN politics has been marked by violent conflict for generations. KZN is dominated by the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which had been an initiative of the banned African National Congress (ANC). The Ximba largely supported the ANC, which resisted the govt's apartheid 'homelands/bantu-stans' policy of isolating black people in scattered pockets of land whilst retaining most of the land, certainly the agriculturally viable land, for whites. Led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the IFP opted to engage with the apartheid regime and its policies, and from the late 1970s to the early 1990s, tensions between the IFP and ANC escalated into terrible violence.

Inkosi Zibuse Mlaba's father, an ANC member, refused incorporation into the Zulu government. He started the democratic education of his own family. Authorities used his Sotho roots to sideline him as "not a real Zulu" and the community did not benefit from government's development programmes. Rather than resentment, this gave his Ximba people a strong sense of unity and identity, and under his guidance they took responsibility for their own development, building clinics and schools. This self-reliant spirit of independence has been retained into the new political dispensation.

In 1988, after his brother Inkosi Msinga was killed in an apparently politically motivated assassination (like his father before him, he had been educating people with ANC policy and information, which the IFP did not favour), Inkosi Zibuse Mlaba took over the reins of power at KwaXimba.

Inkosi Zibuse Mlaba's political heritage

Like other young Chiefs, Zibuse had been to the Bhekuzulu College for the Sons of Chiefs and Headmen, that groomed them to operate as instruments of the apartheid system and had an anti-ANC agenda. But the ANC infiltrated the school with two teachers, who, undercover, gave the students a more realistic picture of SA politics, and when the student uprising against apartheid-education broke out in 1976, the school was almost closed as students rioted and identified with the struggles of black SA youth. Zibuse and many others could not complete their schooling and were forced to flee, fearing arrest. Already enlightened by his family history, this sad and angry experience propelled him into an underground political career that lasted years.

The IFP-controlled KwaZulu government assumed he had been suitably indoctrinated at Bhekuzulu College and inaugurated Zibuse Inkosi to unify the Ximba people under the IFP. Zulu government officials assured him of their trust in him and urged him to openly declare his support for the IFP. They were unaware he had aligned with the ANC as an underground operative.

The Divides: political and community

Inkosi Zibuse could have chosen to continue to keep his ANC sympathies secret. Uncomfortable with lies, deceit and misleading his people, he worried that their limited and biased education had left them politically unable to understand the terrible things apartheid had done to them, encouraging ignorance, rewarding those who blindly supported it and demonizing and punishing those who criticized it. Exiled and jailed leaders of the liberation movements like Nelson Mandela were demonized as 'terrorists', but he felt strongly they were really freedom fighters. He openly declared that he supported the ANC and its policies and aspirations, and that he could not support Inkatha. Confused and fearful, councilors began to stay away from meetings, not knowing where they stood with him or where he stood with the IFP or with the government authorities.

Inkosi Zibuse set about his own program of political education and the youth in particular came to understand the realities of the situation. He was patient and committed and in time won the older people over too. He did this all by word of mouth, through informal conversations engaging with people whenever opportunity arose, and also formally in meetings which he called as Inkosi, or which he attended. He spread his concepts amongst youth, business people, parents, etc. He could engage any topic (the wonderful meal eaten last night; the problems of a young girl being pregnant; the planning for a traditional event;

the need for improved roads; the bad weather; the child who drank paraffin; the sick father of the M... family) and swing the talk to human rights and African identity.

His transparency was unusual and caused friction at times. But it also generated discussion and the raising of questions, even if just between a few people. He knew that just talking about fearful issues could help people deal with them; talking about the unknown would help them learn more about it, and make it more acceptable. His cause was ironically helped by the IFP, who advocated his assassination because of his openness and because he was spreading pro-ANC freedom strategies. The IFP attacked and killed suspected ANC supporters, hoping to marginalize the activists and the outspoken, but instead awakened the pride, independence and solidarity of Kwa-Ximba, and their ongoing support of Inkosi Mlaba.

Zibuse's bravery in exposing his political affiliation, and his commitment to take responsibility for the consequences of his decision, was a major turning point in the community's political life. He put himself at risk as a peacemaker as well as a political awareness campaigner. Painfully, he also put his community at risk whilst educating and informing them, guiding them to political liberation.

When the elders alleged that the youth were a disruptive problem, he facilitated a meeting between them and the youth, government officials and the police. This was an unusual approach to conflict resolution at the time; all sides gained a platform to express their concerns and wishes. He expressed his belief that people have a right to align themselves with any political or religious organizations and should not be forced to join against their will. He recalled the community's history and how previous Inkosis had been harassed for their beliefs and he appealed for the KwaXimba to be left in peace. Although the meeting did allow for the voicing of divergent opinions and the sharing of ideas and information, and although certain agreements were reached between the youth and the elders, the effects of this was quickly destabilized. Soon after it seemed the KwaZulu government and South African Police had declared war on the community and many people were killed. These incidents made it clear that the IFP and state aggressors were acting together against ANC members and anyone suspected of being ANC associated. Inkosi Zibuse was almost killed in an ambush and he went into hiding, visiting in disguise so as not to lose touch.

By 1990 change was coming and the release of political prisoners was imminent. Inkosi Zibuse returned openly to KwaXimba, moving into full stride in efforts to bring peace and development to his community. He recognized that poverty creates fertile ground for divisions, power struggles and violence, that peace was a prerequisite for the development of communities, and that development itself could be a tool whereby people can take responsibility for themselves and others. In his area Inkosi Zibuse supported the forming of a development committee representing all stakeholders to facilitate the co-ordination of

community development plans informed by the expressed needs of the people. He supported the committee by accessing donor funds, training for development management, and technical expertise. With his supportive encouragement pre-schools, schools and a clinic have been built, and processes put in place for electricity and piped water. His persuasive efforts helped the Ximba win a land claim, and they are now involved in a participatory process to decide how the land can best be used to benefit all. But development in one community does not necessarily bring peace to an area.

Nyavu, a community situated next to KwaXimba, is an IFP stronghold. The antagonism between the two villages increased until violence broke out. The youth, especially, began to violently confront and harass each other in what Inkosi Zibuse called “unnecessary antagonism”. This conflict had direct consequences in that the Nyavu people had to pass through KwaXimba to get to work and the violence prevented them from getting to work in extreme situations, or coming late for work. Employers threatened to fire the Nyavu for these transgressions.

The KwaXimba youth recognized this as an opportunity for them to gain employment at the expense of the Nyavu. Hearing of this, and understanding the complicated dynamics involved, Inkosi Zibuse decided that he would have to intervene. He was concerned that if the Nyavu lost their jobs, the competition over scarce jobs would lead to a worsening of the bloody conflict. The Nyavu would think that the conflict had flared so as to cost them their jobs. Inkosi Zibuse recognized that he would have to work on restoring the balance. He urged the youth of KwaXimba to stop the harassment of the people of Nyavu. At the same time he approached the employers, explaining the situation to them and negotiating that the Nyavu keep their jobs. He assured them that he was working on building peace between the two villages.

Despite a general feeling among the KwaXimba people that there was nothing to be gained by talking to the Nyavu, Inkosi Zibuse took an unpopular decision and went to address the Nyavu about the need for peace. He reiterated his belief that people were entitled to their own political affiliations. He stated his intention to guide his people towards peace building, and urged the Nyavu not to allow external forces to foment violence and divisions. Many Nyavu resented this visit and it did not have the desired impact. Another attempt was made on his life by those who feared that he might be able to attract people to the ANC. Even among his followers he was criticized, especially by many of his younger followers, for being too conciliatory towards their IFP enemies. Undeterred by either his skeptical followers or the hostile Nyavu, he intensified efforts to create better understanding between himself and Nyavu leaders, fighting for their trust.

Gradually he won the confidence of a few councilors and the Induna (Headman) Mdluli. He supported them in getting the Nyavu access to clean water and electricity, external support

for development that enabled them to build schools, a community hall and a clinic. Although Induna Mdluli was killed, allegedly as IFP members thought he was too close to the enemy, the two leaders managed to demonstrate that co-operation could lead to a situation where everyone could benefit, regardless of political affiliation.

During this time, Inkosi Zibuse had the opportunity to expose the “third force” in South African politics, which the ANC leadership had long suspected existed in order to destabilize the peace and sabotage the fragile democratic process. Police officers from the Stability Unit of the old government approached him and offered him weapons to use against the Nyavu, telling him the Nyavu were planning to attack KwaXimba.

Given the levels of violence and horrendous massacres of innocent people taking place at the time, it would have been easy to believe them. But Inkosi Zibuse refused the weapons, took the story to the media and applied for a court interdict for the community to be granted security. The application was granted, the ‘third force’ exposed, violence was prevented and the democratic process was affirmed.

Inkosi Zibuse as a leader

Inkosi Zibuse is an advocate for democracy, peace and human rights, values that have driven him since his student days. At a time when society did not support these values, he was prepared to stick his neck out and fight for them. He led by example, even when his life was threatened. He believes that to talk is better than to make war, to persuade is better than to force. To this end he hosted frequent formal and informal meetings within the community. He is known to ‘drop in’ on families for a visit; he always stops to greet and talk to people he meets in the streets; he visits his friends working in businesses; he attends meetings in the area called by other interests. He voices himself but in a very non-aggressive way. He does not necessarily lead where his supporters want to go, but rather persuades and guides them towards doing what he believes is right. He does not hesitate to point out when he thinks they are following a problematic path. He sees his leadership role as being to educate and guide. He believes that education, including political education, is a tool to liberate people from the bondage of ignorance. He uses experience to teach his people about their rights and those of others. He provides them with the opportunity to learn from their mistakes.

His insight into, and understanding of, the complex linkages between development and politics, is sophisticated. Yet he is able to explain these complex ideas to his people in a way in which they can easily understand them. His views about co-existence and collaboration were rare during the apartheid era and not always popular, even with those who supported him. This did not deter him and in time he won others over. His insight into the relationship between development and peace liberated his people from the yoke of a bitter past. His

focus on shared needs and the common external enemy, whether a “third force” or poverty, enabled people who had been sworn enemies to learn to live together in relative harmony. Finally, he understood the importance of alliances, whether with a neighboring headman or a factory boss or the media. He used this understanding to support and add value to his own peaceful development strategies.

A Critical Incident: An attempt to bridge complex political gap

In 1989 Zibuse organized and chaired a meeting between the elders and the youth, government officials and the police. This incident illuminates his insightful approach to conflict resolution. He organized the meeting because the elders had complained that the youth were disruptive. Of course, he had his own ideas about this, but he wanted to try to get the parties together directly, rather than complaining and expecting him as Chief with his advisors to rule on the youth through a traditional process. He had his own expectations about what he hoped the meeting could achieve. He was aware that the meeting would have its risks, but he genuinely felt the opportunity to reconcile and enlighten the community was worth it, and so he did not dwell on the risks.

He notified and invited elders and youth to the meeting by word of mouth, through normal traditional cultural channels. He invited the officials by letter addressed to the local government, in order for them to make inputs to the business of the day. Very unusual at the time, the joint meeting gave all parties a platform to express themselves. About 15 elders, 25 youth (16yrs and older) and 5 police and government officials were present. Also unusual, Mlaba indicated he would use local vernacular despite the presence of two white officials and instructed the officials’ colleagues to translate for them as the meeting proceeded. He then warmly greeted and welcomed everyone, and stated why the meeting had been called. He laid down some basic rules;

- Everyone must treat each other with respect and behave with dignity;
- As chair he determines who speaks;
- As Chief and convener, he retained the right to intervene at any time if he felt it necessary;
- Outrageous verbal or physical behavior from anyone would result in them being asked to leave.

Mlaba asked those present to each personally commit themselves to these ground rules, or leave now. As he put it, “The goal of the meeting must be for everyone to be in a better place...” No-one left. He led a brief prayer for a successful meeting and a happier community. Then, although most people present knew each other, he invited each person to stand and simply state his/her name. This took a little while and gave him and others a

chance to look around at who was present, and to settle down. He thought he knew them all.

He introduced the discussion by saying that as the elders had complained, they should get the floor first. The youth would follow, then the officials.

The elders in their input indicated that the youth were:

- Too outspoken and disrespectful towards their elders and parents; and their ancestors; they were not helping with household chores and were often absent from family and community functions;
- Contributing to violence and destruction; windows, doors, locks etc of the schoolroom, local shops and some peoples' homes had been broken; some structures had been burnt in the dead of night; rocks, tires and tree trunks placed in roads; businesses were closing down;
- Hanging out in 'gangs' and people were feeling threatened; they were rude and aggressive; or sometimes they run away in all directions and disappear, only to re-appear later somewhere else;
- Thieving: People were afraid to leave their homes. Younger children and elders have to guard homes; they were traumatized, having nightmares, wetting their beds, panicking over small noises, afraid of fire, asking breadwinners to stop working and stay home with them. Vehicles, or parts, have been stolen, making it hard for people to get to work, and causing police visits and increased tensions;
- Not attending to their lessons or to school affairs, had threatened teachers; a gang of youth had recently smashed all the windows and locks at the local schoolroom in Nyava;
- Fomenting danger and death with rumors and accusations of 'agents', and 'impimpi' (spies working for the state or IFP but pretending to be ANC);
- Preventing social gatherings by starting political discussions all the time;
- Carrying weapons; abusing youngsters and forcing them to carry or hide weapons;
- Suggesting that some people who have left the area for legitimate reasons have actually been killed, either by the ANC as 'agents' or by the IFP or police or 'third force', meanwhile they are actually studying or working elsewhere. These rumors have caused pain and distress. Some of those people who are now somewhere else are afraid to come back because they have been declared dead;
- Accusing elders of being 'witches', especially elders who express anger with them or who catch them thieving; two elders were burnt out and had to go and stay with family elsewhere – those families feel vulnerable too; also, the elders miss their friends, and find their twilight years very unhappy;

- They implored the youth to be quiet, to show respect for their elders and the ancestors and to behave themselves, return to school and let peace reign again.

Mlaba had to call agitated youth to order. He thanked the elders and asked the youth to respond. They must raise a hand and wait for him to give them their chance. The youth responded as follows:

- They did not want to go to school merely to become ‘servants’ of the white ‘baas’ (Afrikaans for boss) as their parents and grandparents had been. They did not see the point of math if all they would ever do is menial work;
- Youth were tired of the elders and authorities who lay down the law without consulting them. They said the elders did not want peace, but ‘an agreement to be oppressed’ They refused to be oppressed and felt that they wanted freedom and democracy, a black-led government; a vote; equal rights to schooling, to job prospects, to salaries, to services, to owning property, to living wherever they liked;
- They claimed youth from other villages were the thieves; and that the police had also set rocks in the roads, so that the youth would be blamed;
- They indicated that they carried their weapons for protection.
- Youths claimed the ‘third force’ was responsible for the burnings to foment destabilization and division;
- They claimed that the mysterious disappearances of people were true. For example ‘X’ had never arrived in Johannesburg where he was supposed to have gone, and nobody knew where he was; everyone knew X was an active ANC member. They asked where is ‘X’ and why was ‘Y’ taunted by police and told, “you will go the same way as ‘X’?”
- They claimed that the IFP and other agents and spies were amongst them; the police at this meeting would inform the IFP of every word said today, and by whom. Meanwhile the police are supposed to protect this community, but the IFP and apartheid state have entered a pact to promote slavery and separate development of all who are not white and not Zulu, i.e., IFP?
- The elders, the youth asserted, have to see that the world is changing, that apartheid must go, and the whole world is in support of this with sanctions. They felt that democracy must come before they go back to school;
- They indicated that they were also afraid every day, but that they were more afraid of a life of hopeless destitution forced upon them because they are black. They wanted a better future for their children;
- One youth related how his elder brother was an ANC activist who had lived elsewhere and worked as a taxi driver. Seven out of 12 members of his family had been killed by unknown gunmen wearing balaclavas, some of them in police uniform, who attacked the home with AK-47s at about 3 o’clock in the morning and burnt them out. His brother

went into exile and they had not heard from him for over a year. The rest of the family was split up, traumatized. Police investigations suggested it was a 'taxi-war' killing.

Just as Mlaba had suspected, the real problems were based on political factors. He thought it was a good thing that these statements were made in a formal controlled meeting, because it made people listen to what others' said, and this made them think more, and understand more. But the atmosphere was tense. He thanked the youth for their input, and to create a breathing space he instructed 3 of the youth to serve water to everyone (covered buckets of water had been brought to the meeting site, and a number of cups, and cloths to wipe the cups clean). Someone suggested the water may be poisoned (symptomatic of the climate of suspicion and neurosis in the community), so Zibuse demanded and drank the first glass, as he did not get sick the rest drank.

When everyone had settled again, he invited the police and officials to give input. The white officials spoke (in English; Mlaba translated for the community).

- They supported and agreed with what the elders had to say;
- The youth were making policing and delivery of services very difficult; water-truck delivering water to a tank in the region had been prevented from reaching that tank, people had been deprived of water, and then blamed government. An ambulance called to Nyava had to park far away and staff had to walk to fetch the patient because the road was blocked by youth claiming the ambulance was carrying guns; police had to come protect the ambulance and staff; when patients cannot be served, government is blamed;
- The youth were wrong to say that police were present as aggressors when people were attacked; it was against regulations for a policeman to wear his uniform and a balaclava; the killers want suspicion to fall on the police; there is no so-called 'third force' – this myth is generated by the ANC, who want to cause division and suspicion. The police felt that these rumors were being spread by the ANC who wanted to make the world believe the state is attacking its own people and who want sanctions which have hurt black people more than white people;
- One official recalled a 1986 rumor that 'the Zulus were coming to kill everyone who isn't Zulu or IFP'. This rumor caused large scale panic. Thousands of blacks left their jobs, rooms or homes, or locked themselves up for days in townships across the country and the police and army were out in full force. But the Zulus/ IFP never arrived and never killed anyone. The rumor, they claimed, had been started by insurgents playing on the ethnic tensions among blacks, which are not of the white man's making. People are happy in their homelands, only the ANC is unhappy, agitating youth and seeking to make SA a communist state;

By the end of this statement, some of the youth were standing, unable to contain their distress. Elders had their hands over their faces in fear and despair. Mlaba called the youth to

order and said he would allow one more input from the elders and from the youth and then he would have his say:

- The elders said all this talk frightened them. They implored the youth to stop their nonsense, settle down, listen to their parents and grandparents, and go to school and behave themselves. They said the youth were upsetting the authorities and the ancestors, and making everything harder. They said it is better to accept your fate and return to the old ways.

- The youth said they were also afraid, and worried a lot, but they try to help each other. They said they were too clever to accept what the officials said, and they knew about the presence of ‘plants’ and ‘agents’ in the community. They asked if no-one wondered about Mr. ‘Z’, the temporary teacher at the local school, and how he became good friends with the brother talked about earlier, who visited here often, and how he was redeployed to a school far away right after the attack. How can peace and freedom come from ignoring and not questioning such things? They said they don’t reject the old ways or the ancestors, but things must change and even the ancestors must change. They asked ‘What is your life worth if it is not your own?’

Personally, Mlaba realized there had been very dramatic disclosures with sever risks attached, and that he would have to be extremely careful in how he concluded the meeting. It was a highly explosive situation. He was secretly pleased with what the youth had had to say, and that the elders and even the officials had heard them. But he also knew that he must apply his status as an Inkosi, and as a supporter of democracy with integrity, to give direction and to try to get something positive out of this difficult situation.

Mlaba called everyone to order and thanked everyone, saying there would have to be compromise and restraint on all sides. He expressed his democratic belief that any person has the right to align him or herself with any political or religious organizations and should not be forced to join against his will, nor intimidated for being of a different one, or for not joining. He recalled the Ximba community’s history and how previous Inkosis had been harassed for their beliefs, how they had fought to retain them, and how they had never forced their beliefs on others. He appealed for the KwaXimba to be left in peace, and to live in peace. He declared that if the community was at peace with itself he could help it develop; they needed to focus on positive things they should all contribute to for the best interest of the whole community. For instance, the area needed more classrooms, more clinics, better roads, improved water, electricity, and more businesses. These would benefit the lives of the old and the young, improving human rights and create opportunities for all.

As a starting point, Mlaba asked the youths to agree to commit themselves to being more respectful towards their elders at all times, attending to more of their household chores thereby lightening the burden on their parents. He also pleaded with them to refrain from destructive or violent behavior. The youth agreed.

Inkosi Mlaba then turned to the elders and asked them not to expect teenagers to do chores all day every day and to give them time for socializing with their peers. If they constantly complain about the youth they will chase them away. The elders agreed.

He then turned to the officials asking them to assist the community in the pursuit of improving services and development. The officials agreed.

He then opened the meeting for suggestions as to how to improve the community situation immediately.

One youth suggested that they could form a youth club that would help to look after younger children, doing different activities together. The youth could take turns doing this, so that they also get free time to be just with their friends, or to do their chores. Everyone thought this was a very good idea, and it was agreed that the youth club would start immediately. One elder offered to give storytelling, another to teach pottery, another to help with traditional dancing. Mlaba indicated that he would keep his promise to them and he would go and find support for some of the development needs.

Divergent opinions, ideas and information was shared, some of it very risky and vulnerable. Mlaba turned the meeting around at its most explosive moments and enabled a mood and a common cause that would allow for certain agreements to be reached between the youth and the elders. He did not highlight or play for political agreements or commitments, but he highlighted and played for community ones. Yet he did this through allowing them to air politics under the guise of community issues. With his innate psychological insight and empathy, he was able to manipulate and focus the situation towards consensus!

In hindsight, Zibuse Mlaba didn't think he had been so clever. The prospects of an improved peace and unity in the village could have been perceived as a threat to the intentions of the Apartheid state, the IFP, the third force, and even to some extent the ANC. As the youth had pointed out, everything anyone said in the meeting would be reported to one side or another. Aside from the officials, there may even been 'plants' or 'agents' at the meeting. Very soon afterwards it seemed the KwaZulu Government and SA Police had declared war on the community; many were violently killed, regardless of their age or innocence; many homesteads were destroyed. Mlaba was nearly killed in an ambush in which

3 others with him had been. He went into hiding immediately, but continued to visit, in disguise (even as an old woman) so as not to lose touch with his people, and to keep demonstrating his commitment and support, and his determination to persevere.

In 1990, as Mandela's release and political change was imminent, he returned openly to the village. He has been able to unite the elders and the youth, and outside resources behind common development goals.

Some possible questions

1. In what way does Inkosi Zibuse embody the characteristics of a bridging or transformative leader? Give examples to motivate your answer.
2. Do you think that a bridging or transformative leader needs the same qualities in post-apartheid South Africa as were needed during the apartheid era? Explain your answer.
3. What actions did the Inkosi take that showed his understanding of the importance of ensuring that there is a balance of interests in society, rather than a disproportionate weighting in the favor of one interest, even if it is the majority interest?
4. A bridging leader is supposed to be able to handle conceptual ambiguity. Do you think Inkosi Zibuse did this? Give reasons for your answer.
5. In general, do you think that a bridging or transforming leader should go against the wishes of his or her followers? Give reasons for your answer.
6. If you focus on the critical incident,
 - a. Why do you think Inkosi Mlaba invited the government and police to be present, and was this a good or a bad idea?
 - b. Do you think a different method could have produced the same outcome? Explain.
 - c. If you were in his shoes, would you have done anything differently?
 - d. If peace and unity, or distress and division, raised the real risk of political violence, why do you think he aimed for peace and unity?
 - e. Considering that the critical incident actually resulted in/ was followed by disastrous repercussions for the community and Zibuse, can it be regarded as an example of bridging leadership?

This case was written by Beak Ntshangase, University of D-B, KwaZulu/Natal under the supervision and co-ordination of Prof. PE Franks, University of the North, Limpopo, South Africa and re-worked for LeaRN by Arlette Franks. All case materials are prepared solely for the purposes of class discussion. They are neither designed nor intended to illustrate the correct management of problems or issues contained in the case. Copyright 2003, Leadership Regional Network (LeaRN), Southern Africa and the Synergos Institute, New York. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, used in a report or spreadsheet, or transmitted in any form or by any means – electronics, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise – without consent from the Leadership Regional Network and the Synergos Institute. This case was made possible through a grant from the Synergos Institute.